1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he

252 794 is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[872] 3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[778] 4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
● 778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 90.

1: Coon / E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-hor*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gzennaya it is equivalent to 16 kiles, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

SAINTS

792 T78

Imrabten, or saints, live in some of the tribes and receive local veneration. A saint is a man who possesses *baraka*, a form of magical emanation comparable to *mana*, and usually derived through descent from the Prophet. It is through its possession that he is enabled to perform supernatural acts, and his person, being charged with it, may heal persons who touch him; hence anything which he has touched has partaken of the *baraka* and is a valuable object. By exploiting the belief in these superstitions the saints make their living.

Shorfa, or alleged descendants of the Prophet, have a virtual monopoly of this business, although holy men with no claims to such descent may acquire *baraka* through their manner of living or through religious insanity. In such cases pedigrees are often doctored up for them later.

A sherif or other possessor of *baraka* may lose it through participation in warfare, breaking of religious tabus, friendly traffic with Christians, or simply ceasing to exercise it. Shorfa recently established in the Rif for the most part still possess and exploit their *baraka*, whereas those of long residence have usually lost it and become like the rest of the Riffians. In a family of shorfa one brother may choose to exploit this quality and the other brothers to live as ordinary people.

The foremost shorfa of the Rif are the family of Ikhemrijen, originally from Fez, who are established at Targuist, at Snada of the Beni Bu Frah, in the Beni Bu Shibet, and at Tizi Ifri, between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir. The headquarters of the family are at Targuist, at the Zawiat et Tifah, where Sidi Mohammed n Suddik is the present incumbent. Sidi Hamidu at Snada and the incumbent at Tizi Ifri are likewise said to possess *baraka*, but are not as popular as their relative. The incumbent in the Beni Bu Shibet has in some way lost his *baraka*. When I was at Targuist in 1926 I was told that Sidi Mohammed had lost his *baraka* through eating with the Spanish officers and carrying on friendly relations with them, but when I was there again in 1928 I received no further confirmation of this.

At each of the establishments of this family is a *zawia*, or school, a place of instruction comparable to a cantonal mosque with the presiding sherif as head of it.

In Beni Said there is a living saint named Sidi Mohammed who came from outside the Rif, and who has established a large *zawia*. He is an emissary of the Nasirriin, and *fokara* of this sect come once every three months from all over the Rif to pay him tribute.

In Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya dwells a delegate of the Derkawa, named Sidi Mohammed el Khok. He is a recent arrival, and has a document from the head of the sect in Fez authorizing him to establish a sanctuary in the Rif, to which Riffian Derkawa may repair so as to avoid the long journey to Fez.

Besides these active and first generation saints, there are many families descended from others long dead. Some of them do not fight and are immune from attack, and others fight and are attacked. The former are thought to possess *baraka* in a very dilute form; such is the case with the descendants of Sidi Bu Jiddain, a Zenatan, in the Beni Tuzin. Sidi Bu Jiddain owned a mule with which he conversed. Once he went to Fez, where the sultan ordered him sent to jail, at which the mule cried: "That sultan is crazy." The sultan was so frightened that he ordered Sidi Bu Jiddain out of the city. Today his descendants run a *zawia* at his tomb and live on public credulity and charity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

All of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa of the Gsennaya claim descent from Sidi Hend u Musa, a local saint in the wall of whose tomb an old sword is stuck. It is said that when this sword is drawn the Muslimin will defeat the Christians and drive them from the land. Men have tried for years to pull it out, but no one has yet been successful. There is a *zawia* to this same saint in Beni Said; he is said to have written books foretelling the recent invasion of the Rif by the Christians, predicting that the last place to submit would be his tomb, and that while the defenders were holding out they would lack salt, and that men would kill each other for it. The Gsennaya claim that this prophecy was fulfilled. His descendants fight, even with each other, and are thought to have lost their *baraka*. A few individuals, however, such as the present Sidi Amar, have a recurrence of it. Sidi Amar is an insane man of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa who when a boy worked as share-laborer in the Beni Amart. One cold morning his mistress told him to go to the spring to fetch water, and Sidi Amar cursed the spring, expressing the wish that it should dry up. The spring did dry up, or is said to have done so, and Sidi Amar has been feared and respected ever since. His chief pleasure is going to market, where he chases women with a stick, being a confirmed misogynist. Sidi Amar went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and when he got home claimed that he had flown through the air on the way back, and that his return journey had taken him but two days. He was laughed at until two later pilgrims came home with the story that they had checked the date of his departure from Mekka and found it to have been just two days before his arrival. After this everyone believed it, and his reputation increased. Sidi Amar, humorously called the Kaid Amar, at present has no fixed abode, but enters any house he wishes and is given food and shelter. When a man has been wounded Sidi Amar comes in and sits by him, refusing to eat until the patient is out of danger. He is reputed to have effected many cures in this way. When Sidi Amar dies, he will probably have a tomb erected on his grave, to which people will come for its *baraka*, for he has established a sufficiently miraculous reputation already to assure this.

In Iherrassen are the descendants of Sidi Hamid, saints without *baraka*. Their ancestor, a great wizard, used to write charms and then burn them, after which everyone present could see on the wall a moving picture of men walking by with guns, dogs, and mules.

In the Beni Amart live the descendants of Sidi Abd el Kadher Agenau, related to the saints of Beni Urriaghel. Those in Beni Amart have lost their *baraka* and fight continually.

The so-called *Imrabten* of Beni Urriaghel, who have taken the generic word for saints as their patronym, fight and yet preserve a portion of their *baraka*; anyone attacking them is liable to a severe spell of sickness. Their ancestor, Sidi Hamid el Kroni, grew horns on his head with which to fight, so the bellicose quality of these saints started with the first generation.

The Ulad Sidi el Hajj Misaud, saints of Taurirt in Beni Urriaghel, do not fight, yet their *baraka* seems to have "turned sour"; they are considered dangerous, and are not admitted as guests by other *bonas*. Parents will not let their children look at them. There are estimated to be twelve hundred saints in Beni Urriaghel.

Sidi Shaib u el Ftah, whose tomb is at the harbor of Temsaman, has left descendants who teach music and dancing in the *zawia*. Men who would like to learn to play the flute or *zammar*, and women who wish to improve their dancing, stay there seven days and are supposed to learn what they came for in that space of time, partly through the instructors and

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gsennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbusur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gsennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fes, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fes, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gsennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams.

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fhair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required.

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired.

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *zawia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance.

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

2: Westermarck--17 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[35] CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

770 792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 842] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger--among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand--with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [igliwa], zzest [temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-
called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same
species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the
smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large
number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or
medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura
(Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura,
sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been
gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has
made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain
one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons
suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or,
on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
[842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in
the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the
morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro;
Berb. fadis [temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women
suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot
seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to
the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which
the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the
thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

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778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiya among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each
778 other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places,
as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall
[681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with
[754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

•778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[2.61] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 755 [276] A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred" or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] [224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad [753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 778 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 834 778 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean indi vidual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

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778 784 [783] [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

778 821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784 233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).

[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
[782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

● 778 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

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DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

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Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīssh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

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an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābit. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umquran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

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canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

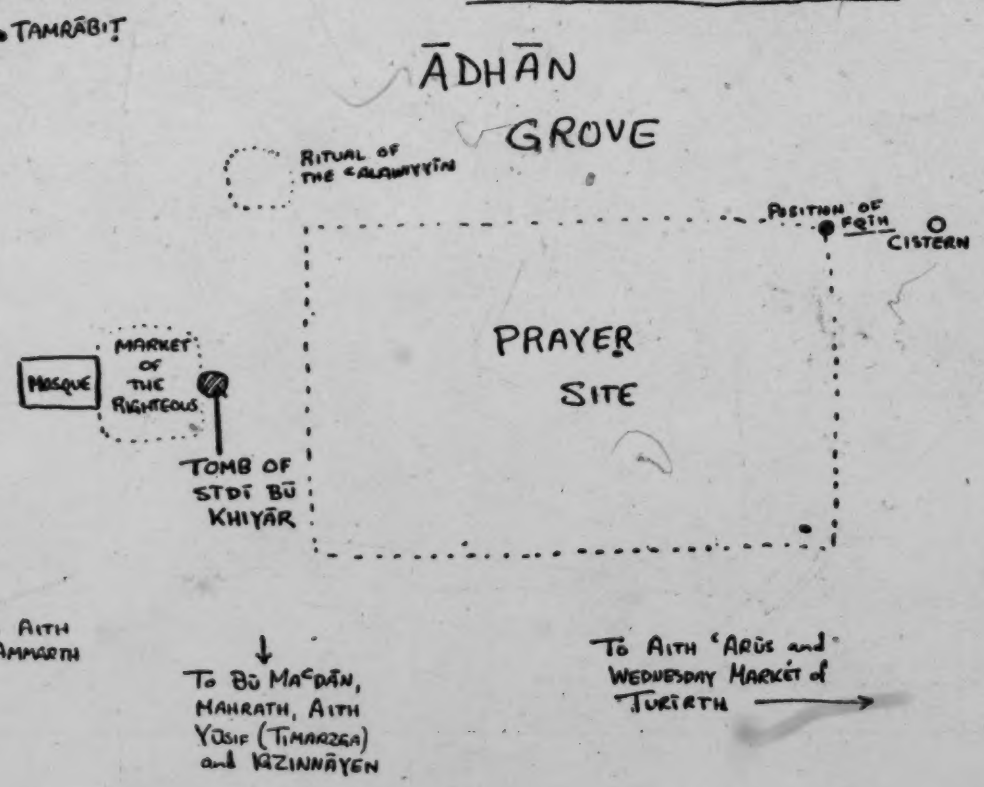
Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Turirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR : PLAN



17—Tamuda

[P. 242 (A)]

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A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 778 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 788 782

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788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 [222] If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

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768
778
171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* [735] in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

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red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

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771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhin, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

684 171 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed, while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 428 171

Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage. A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of insurrection (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a zawiya (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain to the jma'th, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslim ukil (legal

562 586 582 [171] 562 586 708 623 [171] 627 171 562

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj-Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176]
[178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

671 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred
771 Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
182 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
[778] scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
[782] to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[779] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
[514] an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
182 the khums (Rifian thakhamasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
614 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in
619 writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the
182 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
628 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
681 of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and
[511] it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
628 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
681 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
184 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at
443

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Aziri al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

000 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

(614) 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [755] [782] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[494] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
[782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 795 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

7: Mikesell . K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[m] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[n] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[o] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[m] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[n] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[o] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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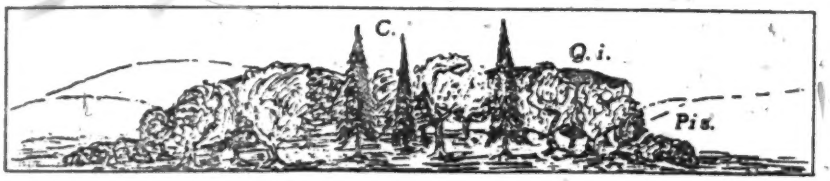

A. Sidi al-Hajj Yacub (Aith Seddath)

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B. Sidi Mahadri (near Tetuán)

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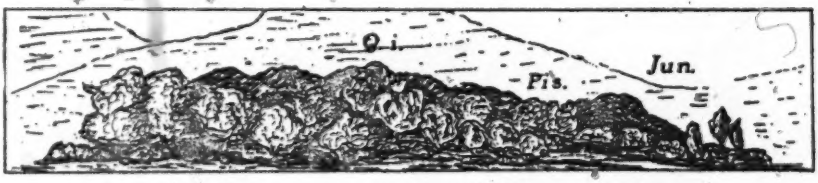

C. Km. 194, Tetuán–Melilla route

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D. Km. 55, Tangier–Larache route

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E. Bani Dercul F. Sidi Loraichi (Bani Arus)

Fig. 25. Profiles of vegetation on sacred sites.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A. [See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima,* and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[44] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Moulouya.[45] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[46] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[47] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[48] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[49] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[50] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[51] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

[44] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[45] J. Ruíz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[46] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[47] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[48] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[49] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[50] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[51] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.[a] The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

[a] *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

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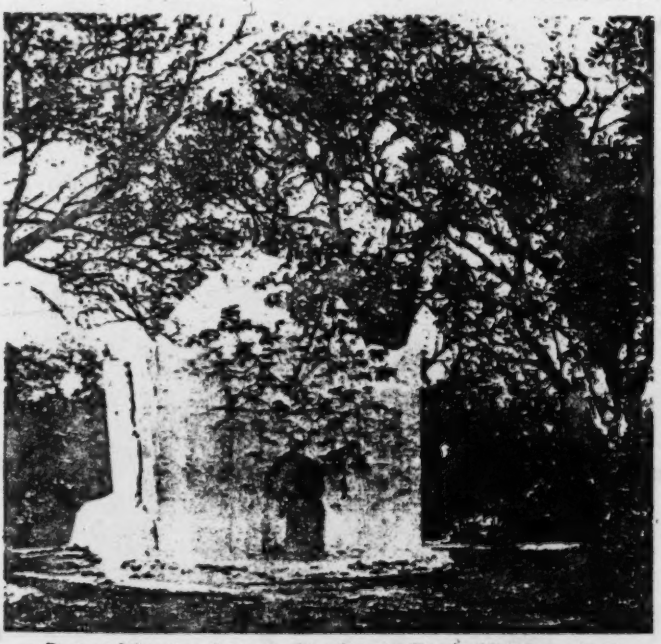

a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea, Callitris,* and *Pistacia lentiscus*. Cf. fig. 25, *b*.

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b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
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173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrījen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On